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ACTION AF-00

INFO LOG-00	NP-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	INL-00	DINT-00	DODE-00
DOEE-00	DOTE-00	WHA-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EAP-00	EB-00
EUR-00	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
LAB-01	L-00	VCE-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01
PA-00	PM-00	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	TRSE-00
USIE-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00
SWCI-00	/007W					

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0875  
INFO SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ABUJA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KINGSTON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
NSC WASHDC PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 000315

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR DIRECTOR FRAZER  
PARIS FOR NEARY  
LONDON FOR GURNEY  
NAIROBI FOR PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 01/29/12  
TAGS: PGOV PINR ZI MDC  
SUBJECT: MDC PLANNING FOR TRANSITION

CLASSIFIED BY POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF MATT HARRINGTON. REASONS:  
1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY

11. (C) THE MDC HAS ESTABLISHED A FOUR-PERSON TEAM THAT IS QUIETLY WORKING ON THE TRANSITION PERIOD, DRAWING UP AN ACTION PLAN FOR THE FIRST 100 DAYS, AND DEVISING A LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR KEY POSITIONS. IF ELECTED, MDC PRESIDENT MORGAN TSVANGIRAI WOULD GIVE THE FINANCE MINISTRY PORTFOLIO TO PROMINENT ZIMBABWEAN BUSINESSMAN NIGEL CHANKIRA, WHILE MDC MP DAVID COLTART WOULD BE APPOINTED JUSTICE MINISTER AND MDC SECRETARY-GENERAL WELSHMAN NCUBE HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER. IN AN INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT, RULING PARTY STALWART EDDISON ZVOBOGO WOULD BE NAMED SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT IN EXCHANGE FOR HIS ENDORSEMENT OF TSVANGIRAI TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE ELECTION. TSVANGIRAI WOULD PREFER NOT TO DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT IF HE WINS, BUT WOULD INSTEAD FOCUS ON THE 30 NON-ELECTED MPS, APPOINTING HIS OWN PEOPLE TO 20 OF THOSE SLOTS AND EXPECTING THE REMAINING TEN CHIEFS TO VOTE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY. THE MDC BELIEVES IT HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN WINNING THE SUPPORT OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL AND MASHONALAND EAST -- LONG A ZANU-PF STRONGHOLD -- AND BELIEVES IT CAN WIN 50 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IN THE FORMER AND 42-43 PERCENT IN THE LATTER. THE LEVEL OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MDC SUPPORTERS IS SUBSIDING IN MOST AREAS OF THE COUNTRY AS THE GOZ ANTICIPATES THE ARRIVAL OF INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVERS. END SUMMARY.

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MDC TRANSITION TEAM

12. (C) IN A FEBRUARY 5 CONVERSATION WITH POLITICAL SECTION CHIEF, THE MDC PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL ADVISOR, GANDI MUDZINGWA, SAID THE MDC HAS QUIETLY ESTABLISHED A FOUR-PERSON TRANSITION TEAM. THE GROUP IS IDENTIFYING KEY ISSUES FOR THE OPPOSITION PARTY TO FOCUS ON DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, DRAWING UP A 100-DAY ACTION PLAN, AND DEVISING A LIST OF INDIVIDUALS WHO COULD SERVE IN IMPORTANT POSITIONS. THE TEAM IS LED BY IAN MAKONI, A LEADING HARARE BUSINESSMAN; BRIAN RAFTOPOULOS, A FELLOW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE'S INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES AND ONE OF THIS COUNTRY'S MOST ASTUTE POLITICAL ANALYSTS; DR. RENEE LOWENSON, A CONSULTANT WHO HAS WORKED WITH THE ZIMBABWE CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS (ZCTU) FOR MORE THAN TEN YEARS AND WHO WAS "IMMENSELY" HELPFUL IN SETTING UP THE MDC; AND DR. CHARLES HOVE, FORMERLY A SENIOR OFFICIAL AT THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE NOW LECTURING IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AT A SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY. MUDZINGWA WOULD NOT BE DRAWN ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE GROUP'S RECOMMENDATIONS TO DATE, SAYING THEY ARE STILL VERY CLOSE HOLD.

MDC CABINET

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**13.** (C) ASKED WHETHER MDC PRESIDENT TSVANGIRAI HAS IDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS TO SERVE IN HIS CABINET, MUDZINGWA SAID SEVERAL DECISIONS HAD BEEN MADE. NIGEL CHANAKIRA, CHAIRMAN OF KINGDOM FINANCIAL HOLDINGS -- ZIMBABWE'S MOST SUCCESSFUL INDIGENOUS MERCHANT BANK -- HAD AGREED TO ACCEPT THE FINANCE PORTFOLIO. MDC MP AND HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYER DAVID COLTART WOULD BE APPOINTED JUSTICE CONFIDENTIAL

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MINISTER, WITH ONE IMPORTANT PROVISO. COLTART HAS DONE A LOT OF PREPARATORY WORK FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION AND WAS DETERMINED TO SEEK RETRIBUTION AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR ZIMBABWE'S CURRENT PLIGHT, ACCORDING TO MUDZINGWA. TSVANGIRAI IS CONCERNED THAT HAVING A WHITE ZIMBABWEAN LEADING THIS

SIPDIS  
EFFORT WOULD SEND ALL THE WRONG SIGNALS, SO HE HAS QUIETLY DECIDED TO PLACE THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION UNDER PARLIAMENT'S AUTHORITY. (N.B. PLEASE STRICTLY PROTECT THIS LATTER POINT. TSVANGIRAI SHARED THIS INTENTION WITH MUDZINGWA IN CONFIDENCE AND

SIPDIS  
HAS NOT YET HAD A CHANCE TO DISCUSS IT WITH COLTART.) WELSHMAN NCUBE, THE MDC'S SECRETARY-GENERAL, A PROFESSOR OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW AND ONE OF THE PARTY'S INTELLECTUAL HEAVYWEIGHTS, WOULD LIKELY SERVE AS THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS. ZANU-PF MP EDDISON ZVOBGO, A LONGTIME RULING PARTY STALWART BUT STRONG CRITIC OF PRESIDENT MUGABE, WOULD BE APPOINTED SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT. IN EXCHANGE, ZVOBGO -- WHO REMAINS VERY INFLUENTIAL IN THE SOUTHERN PROVINCE OF MASVINGO -- HAS UNDERTAKEN TO ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE ELECTION THAT HE WILL NOT VOTE FOR MUGABE, AND DECLARE THAT MORGAN TSVANGIRAI IS THE CANDIDATE BEST ABLE TO RESTORE PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO ZIMBABWE. (COMMENT: SUCH AN ENDORSEMENT COULD ENSURE THAT MASVINGO -- WHICH BOTH MAJOR PARTIES CONSIDER PIVOTAL TO THE ELECTION OUTCOME AND WHOSE RESIDENTS ARE CURRENTLY EVENLY SPLIT BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES -- SWINGS FIRMLY INTO THE MDC CAMP. END COMMENT.)

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INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	DINT-00	DODE-00	DOEE-00
	DATE-00	WHA-00	SRPP-00	DS-00	EAP-00	EB-00	EUR-00
	FAAE-00	FBIE-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-00
	VCE-00	AC-01	NSAE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00
	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	IRM-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00	SWCI-00
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P 051431Z FEB 02  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0876  
INFO SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ABUJA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA PRIORITY  
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NOT NECESSARY TO DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT

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**14.** (C) ASKED WHETHER TSVANGIRAI WOULD DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT UPON ASSUMING POWER, MUDZINGWA SAID SUCH A STEP WOULD BE UNNECESSARY. HE NOTED THAT THE MDC CURRENTLY HOLDS 56 SEATS IN THE 150-SEAT PARLIAMENT. INSTEAD OF CALLING A NEW ELECTION, TSVANGIRAI WOULD FOCUS ON THE 30 UNELECTED SEATS. HE WOULD COUNT ON THE TEN CHIEFS -- WHO ARE SELECTED BY OTHER CHIEFS -- TO SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY, WHILE REPLACING THE EIGHT GOVERNORS AND 12 NON-CONSTITUENCY MEMBERS WHO ARE APPOINTED DIRECTLY BY THE PRESIDENT. ADDING THOSE TWENTY SEATS TO THE 56 THE MDC ALREADY HOLDS WOULD GIVE THE PARTY A RAZOR-THIN MAJORITY. IN ADDITION, THE PARTY WOULD

CONTINUE TO PRESS THE COURTS TO HEAR EXPEDITIOUSLY THE PENDING  
LEGAL CHALLENGES OF ZANU-PF VICTORIES IN 28 CONSTITUENCIES IN THE  
JUNE 2000 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. (COMMENT: AVOIDING THE  
DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT WOULD ALLOW TSVANGIRAI TO PORTRAY HIMSELF  
AS A NEW KIND OF LEADER COMMITTED TO REDUCING THE CONSIDERABLE  
POWERS THAT HAVE ACCRUED TO THE ZIMBABWEAN PRESIDENCY. ON THE  
OTHER HAND, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT THE TEN CHIEFS WOULD VOTE  
WITH THE MDC, AND RELYING ON 76 MPS ALWAYS TO TOE THE PARTY LINE IS  
RISKY. IT MIGHT ALSO BE DIFFICULT FOR AN MDC GOVERNMENT TO JUSTIFY  
TO THE ZIMBABWEAN PUBLIC ALLOWING ZANU-PF MPS WHO EMPLOYED VIOLENCE  
AND INTIMIDATION TO ENSURE THEIR OWN ELECTIONS -- SUCH AS CHINHOYI  
MP PHILIP CHIYANGWA AND MOUNT DARWIN SOUTH MP SAVIOUR "MIKE TYSON"  
KASUKUWERE -- TO RETAIN THEIR SEATS. END COMMENT.)

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TRADITIONAL LEADERS SHIFTING THEIR ALLEGIANCES?

15. (C) MUDZINGWA REPORTED THAT TSVANGIRAI HAS BEEN MEETING  
DISCREETLY WITH TRADITIONAL LEADERS FROM MASHONALAND, LONG A RULING  
PARTY STRONGHOLD. IN THE MOST RECENT GATHERING -- IN HARARE THE  
WEEK OF JANUARY 28 -- A MAJORITY OF THE TRADITIONAL LEADERS FROM  
MASHONALAND CENTRAL PROVINCE TOLD TSVANGIRAI THEY WOULD NOT VOTE  
FOR MUGABE IN THE UPCOMING ELECTION OR TELL THEIR CONSTITUENTS TO  
DO SO. THE INROADS TSVANGIRAI HAS MADE WITH TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN  
A REGION THAT HAS BEEN DECLARED OFF-LIMITS TO THE OPPOSITION PARTY  
-- BY WAR VETERANS AND ZANU-PF SUPPORTERS -- HAS BUOYED THE MDC'S  
HOPES THAT IT CAN WIN APPROXIMATELY 50 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IN  
MASHONALAND CENTRAL AND 42-43 PERCENT IN MASHONALAND EAST. ASKED  
WHETHER HE WAS ALSO OPTIMISTIC ABOUT MASHONALAND WEST, MUDZINGWA  
DEMURRED, SAYING THAT PROVINCE WAS MORE "PROBLEMATIC." (COMMENT:  
ZANU-PF HAS EXERTED CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE ON TRADITIONAL LEADERS --  
WHO ARE ON THE GOVERNMENT PAYROLL -- TO GET THEIR CONSTITUENTS TO  
THE POLLING STATIONS ON ELECTION DAY. IF THE TRADITIONAL LEADERS  
IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL MAKE GOOD ON THEIR PLEDGE -- AND IF THE  
SENTIMENTS THEY REPORTEDLY EXPRESSED TO TSVANGIRAI ARE SHARED BY A  
GROWING NUMBER OF THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN OTHER REGIONS -- MUGABE  
COULD BE IN SERIOUS TROUBLE. THE MDC HAS CONSISTENTLY TOLD US THAT  
IT NEEDS TO GET BETWEEN 30-40 PERCENT OF THE VOTE IN MASHONALAND TO  
WIN. ANYTHING HIGHER THAN THAT WOULD LIKELY BE ICING ON THE CAKE.  
END COMMENT.)

VIOLENCE SUBSIDING

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16. (C) MUDZINGWA TOLD US THAT THE LEVEL OF GOZ-SANCTIONED VIOLENCE  
AGAINST MDC SUPPORTERS HAD BEGUN TO DECLINE NOTICEABLY IN MANY  
AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, ALTHOUGH SERIOUS INCIDENTS CONTINUED TO  
OCCUR. (NOTE: THE MDC IS STILL INVESTIGATING RECENT REPORTS OF THE  
KILLING OF THREE OF ITS SUPPORTERS AND THE ABDUCTIONS OF FOUR  
OTHERS, AND WILL RELEASE DETAILS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.) SUCH A  
GENERAL DECLINE WAS PREDICTABLE, MUDZINGWA SAID, AS THE GOZ IS  
BACKING OFF IN PREPARATION FOR THE ARRIVAL OF INTERNATIONAL  
ELECTION OBSERVERS. HE ADDED THAT THE MDC INTENDS WITHIN THE NEXT  
WEEK TO SET UP AN ELECTION COMMAND CENTER, ONE OF WHOSE FUNCTIONS  
WILL BE TO INFORM OBSERVER DELEGATIONS AND RESIDENT DIPLOMATIC  
MISSIONS QUICKLY OF INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE, INTIMIDATION, AND  
ELECTORAL IRREGULARITIES.

SULLIVAN

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